

# Tombs and Burials in the Monastery *tou Libos* in Constantinople

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*For Henry Maguire*

In 1929 Theodore Macridy, then assistant curator at the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, conducted the first significant survey of the monastery *tou Libos*, one of the most important complexes to have survived from Byzantine Constantinople (fig. 1). The final report of this survey appeared only much later, in 1964, in an English translation by Cyril Mango and Ernest J. W. Hawkins.<sup>1</sup> The quantity and quality of finds unearthed by Macridy were impressive, ranging from fragments of late antique statuettes to glazed tiles, from an archivolt with busts of Christ and his disciples to marble inlaid icons, including the famous icon of Saint Eudokia.<sup>2</sup> Further investigations by Mango and

Hawkins brought to light additional material,<sup>3</sup> while Arthur H. S. Megaw, during the extensive restoration of the complex in the 1960s, was able to clarify some aspects of the original form of the north church, dedicated to the Theotokos *Panachrantos*.<sup>4</sup>

One of the most striking aspects of the complex revealed by Macridy's survey was the abundance of burials of different types within the monastery: twenty-nine tombs, along with four ossuaries (fig. 2). Although its function as the mausoleum for Theodora Palaiologina's family justifies the existence of numerous tombs in the late thirteenth-century south church

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1 T. Macridy, "The Monastery of Lips (Fenari Isa Camii) at Istanbul," *DOP* 18 (1964): 253–77. The author published a succinct report in *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1929): 343–58. I have not been able to locate Macridy's original archive. I am grateful to Cyril Mango for his help on this matter.

2 On this icon see S. E. J. Gerstel, "Saint Eudokia and the Imperial Household of Leo VI," *ArtB* 79 (1997): 699–707; A. Papanastasiou, "Saint Eudokia the Empress," *BSCAbstr* (2001): 24.

3 C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "The Monastery of Lips (Fenari Isa Camii) at Istanbul: Additional Notes," *DOP* 18 (1964): 299–315; C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "Additional Finds at Fenari Isa Camii, Istanbul," *DOP* 22 (1968): 177–84.

4 A. H. S. Megaw, "The Original Form of the Theotokos Church of Constantine Lips," *DOP* 18 (1964): 279–98. For a differing reconstruction, in which the north church had two additional aisles on the north and south sides, see N. Brunoff, "L'église à croix inscrite à cinq nefs dans l'architecture byzantine," *EO* 26 (1927): 257–86; idem, "Die fünfschiffige Kreuzkuppelkirche in der byzantinischen Baukunst," *BZ* 27 (1927): 63–98; idem, "K voprosu o srednevekovoi arkhitekture Konstantinopolia," *VizVrem* 28 (1968): 159–91; A. N. Popov, "Iavliaiutsia li ostatki kammenikh balok v stene severnoi tserkvi Fenari-Issa v Stambule ostatkami opor balkona?" *VizVrem* 28 (1968): 192–94. Brunoff's theory was recently resurrected by L. Theis, "Überlegungen zu Annexbauten in der byzantinischen Architektur," in *Studien zur byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte: Festschrift für Horst Hallensleben zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. B. Borkopp, B. Schellewald, and L. Theis (Amsterdam, 1995), 59–64; eadem, *Die Flankenräume im mittelbyzantinischen Kirchenbau* (Wiesbaden, 2005), 56–64.

FIG. 1 Monastery *tou Libos*, view from the east. Photo courtesy of R. G. Ousterhout.

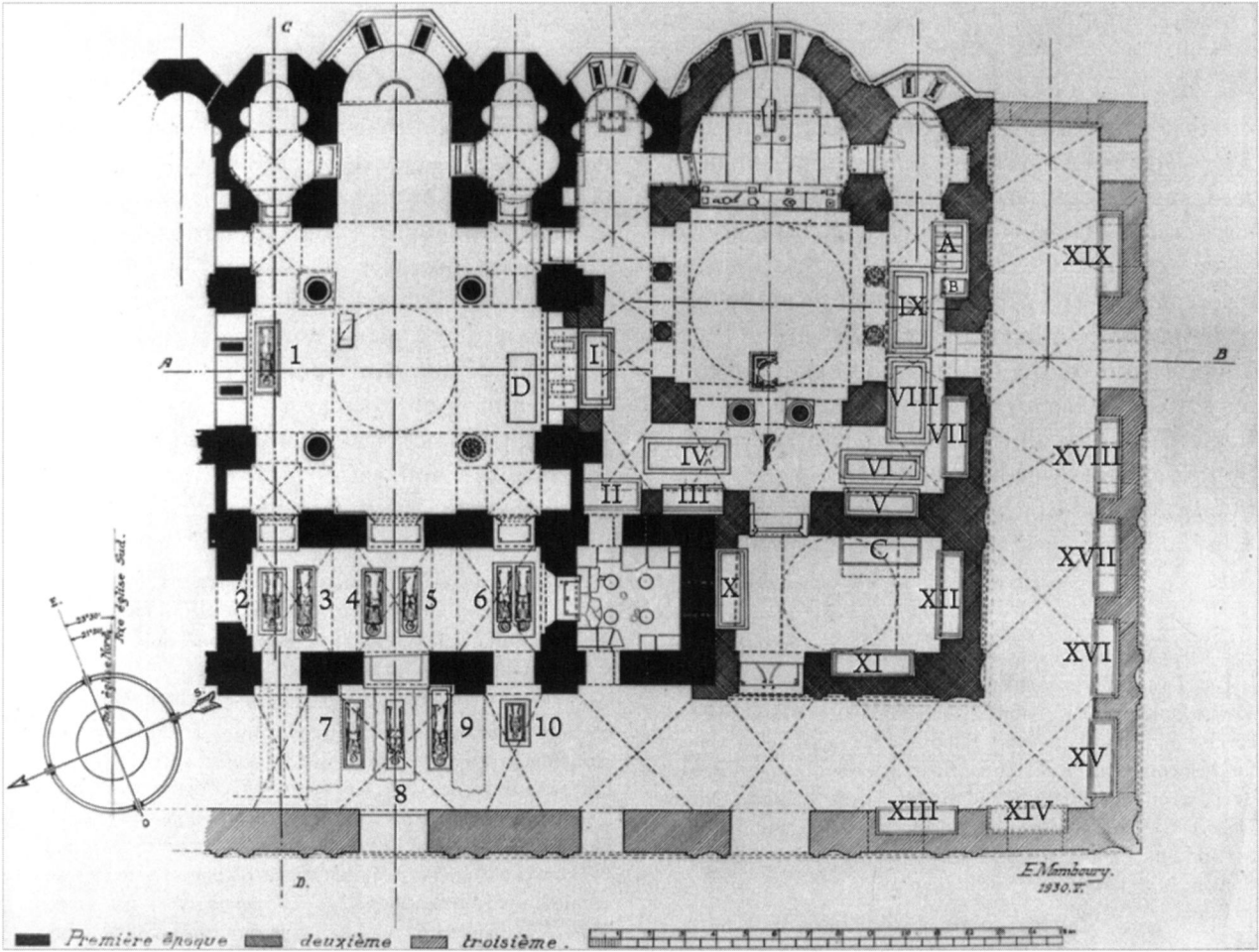
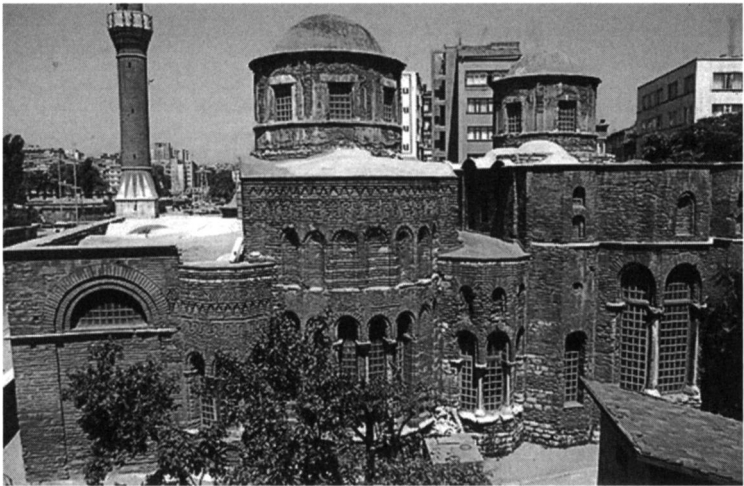


FIG. 2 The Monastery *tou Libos*, ground plan (after Mamboury), with location of tombs and ossuaries. Nos. 1–10: tombs in the church of Theotokos *Panachrantos*; nos. I–XIX: tombs in the church of Saint John; A–D: ossuaries. Courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives.

of Saint John, the same is not true for the tenth-century north church of the Theotokos, which, even after Theodora's renovation, continued to be employed as the main liturgical space of the monastery. While the monastery *tou Libos* is one of Constantinople's better-studied Byzantine buildings, the specifics of its funerary (and by extension memorial) character have been, with few exceptions, all but ignored. The disappearance of almost all evidence for these tombs certainly has contributed to this situation. I revisit the evidence from the monastery *tou Libos* with the intention of better placing its interment function in the context of Byzantine burial customs and practices, and to offer new suggestions regarding the identification of some individual tombs.

### The Monastery *tou Libos*

The history, architectural and otherwise, of the monastery *tou Libos* has been sufficiently explored elsewhere.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, only a brief outline for the purposes of context is necessary here. The complex is located in the Lycus valley, southwest of the present-day Fatih Camii, the site of the church of the Holy Apostles. Constantine Lips, a high military official in the imperial army,<sup>6</sup> founded the original monastery and dedicated it to the Theotokos. Its consecration took place in 907, with the participation of Emperor Leo VI.<sup>7</sup> The monastery's history from this point until the thirteenth century is not

well documented. Between the years 1281 and 1303 the dowager empress Theodora, widow of Michael VIII Palaiologos, restored the complex and added a second church dedicated to Saint John the Baptist to the south of the existing tenth-century church of the Theotokos.<sup>8</sup> An outer ambulatory enveloping the two churches along the west and south sides was added shortly after the completion of the church of Saint John. The *typikon* or foundation document (written sometime between 1294 and 1301)<sup>9</sup> that Theodora Palaiologina bequeathed to the monastery *tou Libos* survives to this day.<sup>10</sup>

### Burying the Dead in Monasteries

The question of tombs inside monastic churches should be addressed as part of the wider question of the existence of tombs in churches of any kind.<sup>11</sup> It is

5 In addition to the sources cited in notes 1, 3, and 4, see A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople* (London, 1912), 122–37; J. Ebersolt and A. Thiers, *Les églises de Constantinople* (Paris, 1913; repr. London, 1979), 211–23; R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, part 1, *Le Siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique*, book 3, *Les églises et les monastères*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1969), 307–10; T. F. Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul: A Photographic Survey* (University Park, PA, 1976), 322–45; W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls: Byzantion, Konstantinupolis, Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 1977), 126–31.

6 The “synoptic” chronicles, Constantine Porphyrogenetos, and the *Patria* offer conflicting accounts of the life and career of Constantine Lips. See N. Adontz, *Études arméno-byzantines* (Lisbon, 1965), 222–25; G. Moravcsik, ed., *Constantine Porphyrogenitus: De administrando imperio*, rev. ed. (Washington, DC, 1985), 162–63; Mango and Hawkins, “Additional Notes” (n. 3 above), 229–300.

7 I. Bekker, ed., *Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus* (Bonn, 1838), 371.

8 For Theodora Palaiologina, see A.-M. Talbot, “Empress Theodora Palaiologina, Wife of Michael VIII,” *DOP* 46 (1992): 295–303.

9 Ibid., 299.

10 For the Greek text of the *typikon* see H. Delehaye, *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels, 1921), 106–36. See also idem, “Le typicon du monastère de Lips à Constantinople,” *AB* 38 (1920): 388–92. English translation by Talbot in “*Lips: Typikon of Theodora Palaiologina for the Convent of Lips in Constantinople*,” in *BMFD*, 3:1265–82. Talbot offers a number of emended readings based on her examination of the manuscript.

11 On the topic of the care of the dead, burials, and the pertinent legislation, see D. A. Petrakakos, *Die Toten im Recht nach der Lehre und den Normen des orthodoxen morgenländischen Kirchenrechts und der Gesetzgebung Griechenlands* (Leipzig, 1905; repr. Aalen, 1971), 90–135; P. Koukoules, “Τὰ κατὰ τὴν ταφὴν τῶν βυζαντινῶν βασιλέων,” *Επ.Ετ.Βυζ.Σπ.* 15 (1939): 52–78; D. S. Loukatos, “Λαογραφικαὶ περὶ τελευτῆς εἰδήσεις παρὰ Ἰωάννη Χρυσοστόμῳ,” *Επ.Λαογρ.Ἀρχ.* 2 (1940): 30–117; P. Koukoules, “Βυζαντινῶν νεκρικὰ ἔθιμα,” *Επ.Ετ.Βυζ.Σπ.* 16 (1940): 3–80; A. Rush, *Death and Burial in Christian Antiquity* (Washington, DC, 1941); G. K. Spyridakis, “Τὰ κατὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἔθιμα τῶν βυζαντινῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀγιολογικῶν πηγῶν,” *Επ.Ετ.Βυζ.Σπ.* 20 (1950): 75–171; J. Kyriakakis, “Byzantine Burial Customs: Care of the Deceased From Death to the Prothesis,” *GOTR* 19 (1974): 37–42; J.-P. Sordini, “Témoignages archéologiques sur la persistance à l'époque paléochrétienne et byzantine de rites funéraires païens,” in *Colloque de la Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur Public, “La mort au Moyen-Age”* (Strasbourg, 1977), 11–21; D. Abrahamse, “Rituals of Death in the Middle Byzantine Period,” *GOTR* 29 (1984): 125–34; A.-M. Talbot, “Old Age in Byzantium,” *BZ* 77 (1984): 267–78; N. E. Emmanouilidis, *Τὸ δίκαιο τῆς ταφῆς στὸ βυζάντιο* (Athens, 1989), 9–175; G. Dagron, “‘Ainsi rien n'échappera à la réglementation’: État, Église, corporations, confréries; À propos des inhumations à Constantinople (IV<sup>e</sup>–X<sup>e</sup> siècle),” in *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin*, vol. 2, *VIII<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. V. Kravari, J. Lefort,

necessary, therefore, to review the pertinent legal and canonical prescriptions regarding burials in churches, for a number of regulations contradict not only one another but the archaeological evidence as well.

Early imperial and ecclesiastical regulations unequivocally prohibit burials inside places of worship. The legislation of Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosios I of 381 orders that above-ground funerary urns and sarcophagi be moved *extra urbem*, and prohibits burials inside the city limits, specifically inside churches of apostles and martyrs: “That no person may evade the purpose of this regulation by false and cunning shrewdness and suppose that the churches of apostles and martyrs are allowed to be used for the burial of bodies; they shall know and appreciate that they are barred from such burial places just as from the rest of the city.”<sup>12</sup> In the sixth century, Justinian’s

legislation repeats the explicit interdiction against burying the dead inside the churches of apostles and martyrs.<sup>13</sup> While the ban against *intra urbem* burials was abolished by Leo VI’s novella fifty-three,<sup>14</sup> the prohibition against tombs inside churches continued to be upheld. The ninth-century *Basilika* declare: “Nobody should bury the dead in a holy church.”<sup>15</sup>

The archaeological evidence from the churches of Constantinople and elsewhere appears, however, to suggest this legislation was ignored. Leaving aside cases in which tombs were placed in subsidiary funerary chapels, as at the Pantokrator and Pammakaristos monasteries, where such chapel burials were not technically inside “a holy church,” Constantinopolitan church burials are located in narthexes and, less frequently, in the naoi. The two churches of the monastery *tou Libos* are the most extreme examples of this trend, for they contain twenty-nine burials in their narthexes and naves. While the narthex’s funerary character (and more rarely that of the side aisles of the naos) is well

and C. Morrisson (Paris, 1991), 153–82; C. Mango, “Sépultures et épitaphes aristocratiques à Byzance,” in *Epigrafia medievale greca e latina: Ideologia e Funzione*, ed. G. Cavallo and C. Mango (Spoleto, 1995), 99–117; N. Constanas, “To Sleep, Perchance to Dream: The Middle State of Souls in Patristic and Byzantine Literature,” *DOP* 55 (2001): 91–124; E. Velkovska, “Funeral Rites according to the Byzantine Liturgical Sources,” *DOP* 55 (2001): 21–51; U. Weissbrod, “*Hier liegt der Knecht Gottes*. . . : Gräber in byzantinischen Kirchen und ihr Dekor (11. bis 15. Jahrhundert); unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Höhlenkirchen Kappadokiens (Wiesbaden, 2003); J.-P. Sordini, “Rites funéraires et tombeaux impériaux à Byzance,” in *La mort du souverain entre Antiquité et haut Moyen Age*, ed. B. Boissavit-Camus, F. Chausson, and H. Inglebert (Paris, 2005), 167–82; C. Pitsakis, “Θέματα δικαίου της ταφής στους Θεσσαλονικείς νομικούς της ύστερης βυζαντινής περιόδου,” in *Χριστιανική Θεσσαλονίκη: Ταφές και κοιμητήρια* (Thessalonike, 2005), 65–90; I. M. Phountoulis, “Νεκρώσιμα Τελετουργικά,” in *ibid.*, 23–36; N. A. Matsoukas, “Το θεολογικό περιεχόμενο της νεκρώσιμης ακολουθίας,” in *ibid.*, 37–44; N. Constanas, “Death and Dying in Byzantium,” in *Byzantine Christianity*, ed. D. Krueger (Minneapolis, 2006), 124–45.

12 Cod. Theod. IX.17.6: “IMPPP. GRATIANUS, VALENTINIANUS ET THEODOSIUS AAA. PANCRACTIO PRAEFECTO URBI. Omnia quae supra terram urnis clausa vel sarcophagis corpora detinentur, extra urbem delata ponantur, ut et humanitatis instar exhibeant et relinquunt incolarum domicilio sanctitatem. Quisquis autem huius praecepti neglegens fuerit adque aliquid tale ab huius interminatione praecepti ausus fuerit moliri, tertia in futurum patrimonii parte multetur. Officium quoque, quod tibi parat, quinquaginta librarum auri affectum despoliatione maerebit. Ac ne alicuius fallax et arguta sollertia ab huius se praecepti intentione subducat atque apostolorum vel martyrum sedem humandis corporibus aestimet esse concessam, ab his quoque, ita ut a reliquo civitatis, noverint se atque intellegant esse submotus. Dat. III kal. aug. Heracleae Eucherio et Syagrio cons. (381 iul. 30).” T. Mommsen and P. M. Meyer, *Theodosiani libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis*

(Berlin, 1905; repr. Dublin–Zurich, 1970–71), 465–66. For this legislation see G. Dagron, “Le christianisme dans la ville byzantine,” *DOP* 31 (1977): 15–17. Dagron explains that only “supra terram” burials were removed because the rapid urban expansion of Constantinople led to the embankment of the cemeteries of old Byzantium. Grierson suggests, though it seems rather unlikely, that Theodosios’s motive for this legislation was to clear the church of the Holy Apostles of unwanted tombs; see P. Grierson, “The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors,” *DOP* 16 (1962): 25, n. 76. See also Emmanouilidis, *To díkaiο της ταφής*, 180–81, 212–13.

13 Cod. Just. I.2.2: “Nemo apostolorum vel martyrum sedem humandis corporibus existimet esse concessam.”

14 Dead were already buried within the city in the eighth century, as attested by Theophanes in his description of the plague of 747; see I. Classen, ed., *Theophanis Chronographia* (Bonn, 1839–41), 2:423. On this topic see C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople, IV<sup>e</sup>–VII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris, 1985), 57–58; Dagron, “Christianisme,” 11–19; idem, “Ainsi rien n’échappera à la réglementation” (n. 11 above), 153–82; P. Magdalino, “Constantine V and the Middle Age of Constantinople,” in *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople* (Aldershot, 2007), no. IV, 3. See also some interesting comments in C. S. Snively, “Old Rome and New Constantinople: The Development of Late Antique Cemeteries,” in *Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel: Acta Congressus Internationalis XIV Archeologiae Christianae*, ed. R. Harreither et al. (Vatican City–Vienna, 2006), 1:711–26. For the novella of Leo VI, see P. Noailles and A. Dain, *Les nouvelles de Léon VI, le Sage* (Paris, 1944), nov. 53, 203–5.

15 “Μηδεὶς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀγία θιαπτέτω νεκρόν”: *Basilika* 5.1.2, H. J. Scheltema and N. van der Wal, eds., *Basilicorum Libri LX* (The Hague, 1955), 1:125.



established,<sup>16</sup> the origins and theological implications of this practice have not been sufficiently explored.

The widespread contradictions in Byzantine church burial have often been dismissed as yet another example of the disparity between official legislation and everyday practice. Burying important persons inside a church (and indeed *intra urbem*) had a very old precedent: emperors, members of the imperial family, and bishops were buried inside the church of the Holy Apostles.<sup>17</sup> This practice has been interpreted as a continuation of the early Christian *ad sanctos* burials (burials close to a saint's tomb), although this is not necessarily the case.<sup>18</sup> Nevertheless, the implication that laws were not observed when it came to the wealthy and powerful would amount to a misapprehension of the religious rationale behind those burial practices. In the majority of cases, such burials are located in areas of secondary liturgical importance, namely in adjacent burial chapels, in the narthex, and in the side aisles of the naos. Thus, in the north church of *tou Libos* five tombs were found in the narthex (fig. 2, nos. 2–6); four outside the church, aligned with the central and southern entrances to the narthex (nos. 7–10), the former in an area that in the tenth century would have been covered by an open-air portico; and only one in the north aisle of the naos (no. 1), along with an ossuary in the south side (D). In the south church, dedicated to Saint John, all the tombs and ossuaries in the naos were grouped within the corridor created by its colonnaded ambulatory (nos.

I–IX and A–B), whereas several other burials were located in the narthex (X–XII and C) and in the outer ambulatory (XIII–XIX).

This arrangement is by no means peculiar to the monastery *tou Libos*.<sup>19</sup> The funerary character of middle and late Byzantine churches in the capital is usually associated with the existence of subsidiary burial chapels and outer ambulatories, but in actuality several of the surviving Constantinopolitan churches had tombs in the narthex and the side aisles, a fact that has received little attention.<sup>20</sup> For example, in the Vefa Kilise Camii, an eleventh-century church with a Palaiologan exonarthex and north annex, M. I. Nomidis uncovered eight tomb sites in the 1930s: two in the north annex, two in the exonarthex, two in the narthex, and two in the naos—one in the north aisle and one in the southwest corner compartment of the naos. Some of those tombs contained multiple burials.<sup>21</sup> The narthex of Hırami Ahmet Paşa Camii (usually identified with Saint John of Troullo, twelfth century) has arcossolia, presumably for tombs.<sup>22</sup> The naos of the katholikon of the Pammakaristos monastery, a Komnenian construction, contained several tombs in the ambulatory that envelops the central bay;<sup>23</sup> the

16 See A. K. Orlandos, *Μοναστηριακή ἀρχιτεκτονική*, 2nd ed. (Athens, 1958), 147; S. Ćurčić, "The Twin-domed Narthex in Paleologan Architecture," *ZRVI* 13 (1971): 333–44; F. Bache, "La fonction funéraire du narthex dans les églises byzantines du XII<sup>e</sup> au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Histoire de l'Art* 7 (1989): 25–33. See also S. E. J. Gerstel, "Painted Sources for Female Piety in Medieval Byzantium," *DOP* 52 (1998): 98–102. The narthex as a place for burials and as a place for commemorations should be differentiated, the two functions not being concomitant all the time.

17 Thus, Valentinian I, Constantia (Gratian's wife), and Paul (Maurice's father) were buried in the church. Patriarch Flavian was also buried there, along with John Chrysostom, whose body was transferred there by Theodosios II. See Grierson, "Tombs and Obits" (n. 12 above), 6 n. 26, 25; Emmanouilidis, *To δίκαιο της ταφής* (n. 11 above), 214. See also the testimony of Symeon of Thessalonike: "Καὶ γὰρ ἐν μὲν τῇ Κωνσταντίνου ἐν τῷ τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων μεγίστῳ σηκῷ οἱ μὲν ἀρχιερεῖς ἐνδὸν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατετίθεντο, ὡς καὶ τὰ λείψανα τῶν ἁγίων, διὰ τὴν τῆς θείας ἱερωσύνης χάριν. Καὶ πολλοὶ περὶ τούτου γράφουσιν ὡς οὕτως ἐγίνετο, περὶ λειψάνων ἀρχιερατικῶν διηγούμενοι." PG 155:677.

18 See below, pp. 159–60, 165.

19 An outstanding overview of the evidence from the Aegean and from Illyricum from the 4th to 7th centuries can be found in J.-P. Sodini and K. Kolokotsas, *Aliki*, vol. 2, *La basilique double* (Athens, 1984), 219–27. There too, tombs in the liturgical center of basilicas are rare, whereas many are found in the narthex.

20 For an exception, see R. G. Ousterhout, "Byzantine Funerary Architecture of the Twelfth Century," in *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo: Rusi i stranii byzantinskogo mira XII vek* (St. Petersburg, 2002), 5–17.

21 C. Mango, "The Work of M. I. Nomidis in the Vefa Kilise Camii, Istanbul," *Mesaionika kai Neoellenika* 3 (1990): 423–24. On the subject of multiple burials see Sodini and Kolokotsas, *Aliki*, 2:235–36; N. G. Laskaris, *Monuments funéraires paléochrétiens (et Byzantins) de Grèce* (Athens, 2000), 278, 280–82.

22 Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches* (n. 5 above), 210–12.

23 The existence of these tombs is known through a document now at Trinity College, Cambridge, published in P. Schreiner, "Eine unbekannte Beschreibung der Pammakaristoskirche (Fethiye Camii), und weitere Texte zur Topographie Konstantinopels," *DOP* 25 (1971): 216–48. The placement of the tombs in Pammakaristos, based on this text and other corroborating evidence, is disputed; see Weissbrod, "*Hier liegt der Knecht Gottes . . .*" (n. 11 above), 185–95, and esp. fig. 97; A. Effenberger, "Zu den Gräbern in der Pammakaristoskirche," *Byzantion* 78 (2007): 170–96, and esp. fig. 2. See also C. Mango, D. Mouriki, and H. Belting, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul* (Washington, DC, 1978), 6–9, 39–42.

funerary parekklesion (ca. 1304), attached to the south side of the katholikon, contained one tomb in an arcosolium set against the wall (presumably that of the two new founders, Michael Tarchaneiotes Glabas and his wife Maria),<sup>24</sup> and three (possibly four) more tombs in the narthex.<sup>25</sup> Two arcosolia are located in the north and south wall of the narthex in the so-called Manastır Mescidi, probably of Palaiologan date.<sup>26</sup> Pasadaios suggested that they were occupied by two anthropoid sarcophagi excavated nearby in the 1960s, which were similar to those found in the north church of the monastery *tou Libos*.<sup>27</sup> Two arcosolia were originally located in the south church of the Pantokrator monastery, and were later converted to doors. Megaw suggests that the tomb of Irene, wife of John II Komnenos and founder of the church, might originally have been in the southern arcosolium.<sup>28</sup> At the Chora monastery, tombs were concentrated in the narthex, exonarthex, and southern funerary chapel. Even in centrally planned buildings, such as the *martyrion* of Saint Euphemia by the Hippodrome (which contained Palaiologan tombs),<sup>29</sup> the Sancaktar Hayreddin Mescidi,<sup>30</sup> and the Balaban Ağa Mescidi,<sup>31</sup> burials were placed in niches, away from the liturgical center. The situation is similar in

other parts of the empire, including Cappadocia,<sup>32</sup> the Balkans,<sup>33</sup> and Greece.<sup>34</sup>

The location of surviving tombs indicates that the prohibition against burials in churches was liberally interpreted (or circumvented, as it were) as not referring to the church in toto but rather to its *liturgical center*, primarily the bema and the central bay of the naos. Even when tombs exist inside the naos, they are always on the sides, leaving the central bay and the sanctuary free. The archaeological evidence from Greece, the only area for which a comprehensive overview of the funerary monuments exists, confirms this hypothesis.<sup>35</sup> Byzantine authors support, directly or indirectly, this differentiation between a church's main liturgical space and zones of secondary importance. First, differing importance was attached to the main church and to its unconsecrated subsidiary chapels (and chapels in general). When asked whether the dead may be buried in a church, the canonist Theodore Balsamon in the twelfth century differentiated between properly consecrated churches and the so-called *eukteria*.<sup>36</sup> The latter lacked the relics

24 Mango, Mouriki, and Belting, *Pammakaristos*, 21–22.

25 C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "Report on Field Work in Istanbul and Cyprus 1962–1963," *DOP* 18 (1964): 327–28.

26 For this building see Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, 262–64; A. Pasadaios, *Ἐπὶ δύο Βυζαντινῶν μνημείων τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀγνώστου ὀνομασίας* (Athens, 1965), 56–101; Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, 195–99; Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique*, 319, 336, 544 (both n. 5 above). Pasadaios argues for an 11th-century date.

27 Pasadaios, *Ἐπὶ δύο Βυζαντινῶν μνημείων*, 86.

28 A. H. S. Megaw, "Notes on Recent Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul," *DOP* 17 (1963): 343.

29 R. Naumann and H. Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul und ihre Fresken*, *IstForsch* 25 (Berlin, 1966); E. Akyürek, *Khalkedon'lu (Kadiköy) Azize Euphemia ve Sultanahmet'teki Kilise* (Istanbul, 2002).

30 Pasadaios, *Ἐπὶ δύο Βυζαντινῶν μνημείων*, 1–55.

31 A. M. Mansel, "The Excavation of the Balaban Ağa Mesdjidi in Istanbul," *ArtB* 15 (1933): 210–19.

32 N. Teteriatnikov, "Burial Places in Cappadocian Churches," *GOTR* 29 (1984): 141–74; eadem, *The Liturgical Planning of Byzantine Churches in Cappadocia* (Rome, 1996), 165–82; Weissbrod, "Hier liegt der Knecht Gottes . . ." (n. 11 above).

33 For this (and for some exceptions) see S. Ćurčić, "Medieval Royal Tombs in the Balkans: An Aspect of the 'East or West' Question," *GOTR* 29 (1984): 175–94. Evidence from areas outside the Byzantine Empire proper should be used with caution as practices were influenced by different liturgical practices and ideologies.

34 For Greece see the exhaustive study of Laskaris, *Monuments funéraires* (n. 21 above), esp. 104–44 for the medieval churches. For specifically the city of Thessalonike see the useful overview of the evidence in I. Kanonidis, "Οἱ ταφές ἐντός των τειχῶν της Θεσσαλονίκης στη μέση και ὕστερη Βυζαντινὴ περίοδο," in *Ταφές καὶ κοιμητήρια*, 207–18, with earlier bibliography. See also E. Kourkoutidou-Nikolaïdou, "Ταφές σε ναούς κατὰ την ὕστερη Βυζαντινὴ περίοδο: Ο Ναός του Σωτήρος στη Θεσσαλονίκη," in *Ταφές καὶ κοιμητήρια*, 219–28.

35 Laskaris, *Monuments funéraires*, 141.

36 "Διαφορὰ μεγάλη ἐστὶν Ἐκκλησιῶν καθιερωθεισῶν διὰ ἐγκαινίων ἀνοιξιῶν καὶ ἐνθρονισμοῦ, χρίσματος τε ἁγίου μύρου, καὶ ἀποθέσεως λειψάνων ἁγίων μαρτυρικῶν, καὶ τῶν μὴ οὕτως ἁγιασθεισῶν, καὶ εὐκτηρίου τόπον ἐπεχουσῶν. Διό, ἐν ἐκείναις μὲν, ἐν αἷς δηλονότι μαρτυρικὰ λείψανα τεθησαύρισαι, καὶ ἁγίων μύρου ἐμεσολάβητε χρίσμα, ἀνθρώπινον λείψανον οἰονδηποτοῦν οὐ ταφῆσεται κατὰ τὸ β' κεφάλαιον τοῦ α' τίτλου τοῦ ε' βιβλίου τῶν βασιλικῶν, τὸ λέγον: Μηδεὶς ἐν Ἐκκλησίᾳ θαπτέτω νεκρόν. Καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἐξωθεν αὐτοῦ κείμενον παλαιόν, τὸν λέγοντα, Οὐκ ἔξεστι θάπτειν τινὰ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐὰν δηλονότι μάρτυρος ἐκεῖσε σῶμα ἀπόκειται. Εἰς δὲ τοὺς μὴ οὕτω καθιερωθέντας ἁγίους οἴκους εὐκτηρίους κατονομαζομένους, ἀκινδύνως ἐνταφιασθήσονται λείψανα." G. A. Ralles and M. Potles,

of martyrs (which in a consecrated church were placed under the altar), consecration of the altar (which took place during the *enkainia* [consecration] of the church), and a throne for the bishop.<sup>37</sup> The main reason that Balsamon offers for the prohibition of burial in consecrated churches is that “the body of a martyr [i.e., his or her relics] is deposited there.” This distinction can be applied to the numerous subsidiary funerary chapels in churches of the middle and late Byzantine period.

It is easy to comprehend why a non-consecrated chapel would be of secondary liturgical importance. But what about the narthex? In his *Interpretation of the Divine Temple*, Symeon, archbishop of Thessalonike (d. 1429), makes distinctions between the three parts of the church:

And for another reason the whole divine temple can be perceived in triadic terms—the [structures] before the naos, the naos, and the sanctuary. This signifies the Trinity, the triadically arranged orders above, and the pious people divided into three—the clergy, the “perfect’ faithful,” and those in repentance. But the form of the divine church symbolizes the things on earth and in the heavens and those beyond heavens. Thus, the narthex is the earth, the naos is the heavens, and the most holy bema represents those things beyond the heavens.<sup>38</sup>

*Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, 6 vols. (Athens, 1852), 4:479. See also a summary of this canon in A. Pavlov, ed., *Nomokanon pri Bol'shom Trebnikie* (Moscow, 1897), 318–19. Also Emmanouilidis, *To dikαιο της ταφής*, 219–21 and Pitsakis, “Θέματα δικαίου” (both n. 11 above), 68–69.

37 A canonical regulation of the 12th-century patriarch of Constantinople Luke Chrysoberges clarifies the meaning of “ἐνθρονισμός”; see M.I. Gedeon, ed., *Κανονικαὶ διατάξεις, ἐπιστολαί, λύσεις, δεσπίσματα, τῶν ἀγιοτάτων Πατριαρχῶν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, 2 vols. (Constantinople, 1888–1889; repr. Leipzig, 1970), 2:20–21.

38 “Καὶ κατ’ ἄλλον δὲ σκοπόν, ὁ θεῖος ἅπας ναὸς τριαδικῶς θεωρεῖται, τοῖς πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ φημι, καὶ τῷ ναῷ, καὶ τῷ βήματι. Ὁ δὲ καὶ τὴν Τριάδα σημαίνει, καὶ τὰς τάξεις τῶν ἄνω τριαδικῶς τεταγμένας, καὶ τοὺς δῆμους τῶν εὐσεβῶν εἰς τριάδα διαιρουμένους, ἱερωμένων λέγω, καὶ πιστῶν τελείων, καὶ τῶν ὄντων ἐν μετανοίᾳ. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν γῇ καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ τὰ ὑπεράνω τῶν οὐρανῶν, τοῦ θείου ναοῦ τοῦτο διδάσκει τὸ σχῆμα. Καὶ πρόναον μὲν τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, ναὸς δὲ τὸν οὐρανόν, τὰ ὑπερουράνια δὲ τὸ ἀγιώτατον βῆμα.” PG 155:704, cf. 337–40. See also N. Constanas, “Symeon of Thessalonike and the Theology of the Icon Screen,” in *Thresholds of the Sacred: Architectural, Art Historical, Liturgical, and Theological Perspectives on Religious Screens, East and West*, ed. S. E. J. Gerstel (Washington, DC, 2006), 166–67.

In Symeon’s scheme the bema is the holiest of places, as the space of the clergy and a signifier for the things beyond the heavens. At the opposite extreme, the narthex symbolizes the earth and serves the needs of the repentant sinners who were not allowed in the church proper.<sup>39</sup> Later in the same text Symeon clearly states that the “sinners” are not to cross into the church, but must stay in the narthex.<sup>40</sup>

Theodore Balsamon, expressing his disdain for what appears to be a common practice and belief during his lifetime, implicitly testifies that the narthex was not considered as holy as the rest of the church. Commenting on the Second Canon of Dionysios of Alexandria, which bans menstruating women from attending services in the church, Balsamon writes:

We see today, mostly in nunneries, such women [i.e., menstruating women] standing without fear in the narthexes, which are beautified with all kinds of holy icons and assigned to the praising of God. And when we ask how is that allowed, we are answered that they are not in the church, which is not what I think! Because the narthexes are not public spaces, like the atria of the churches, but a part of them assigned to women who are not impeded from attending the services. The same narthex is the second place for repentance, called [the place] of the ones who listen. And in it are not allowed to stand even men who were punished with a ban from attending services, but they should stay outside and weep [during the services]. But if such unclean women were meant to stand in these narthexes, the latter would not properly fulfill the role of the church [in the way it does when] the priests cross it with the holy gifts during the Cherubic Hymn [i.e., during the Great Entrance], and cense the tombs and saints that are perhaps located in them, and perform services with holy prayers. Or at least, after [a decision] of a committee of bishops such spaces [i.e., narthexes]

39 The function of the narthex as a place for penitents, whether this was an actual practice or not, is sometimes underlined by its iconography as argued by G. Gerov, “The Narthex as Desert: The Symbolism of the Entrance Space in Orthodox Church Buildings,” in *Ritual and Art: Byzantine Essays for Christopher Walter*, ed. P. Armstrong (London, 2006), 144–59.

40 “Ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ περιπετωκότες ἐγκλήμασιν οὐκ ἐνδον τολμῶσιν εἰσελθεῖν,” PG 155:708.

should be set apart so that unclean women can stand in them without committing a sin. But I saw such a woman standing in the narthex and the bishop read for her the prayer of the betrothal, something I was amazed at.<sup>41</sup>

Despite Balsamon's protestations, people in his time assumed that standing in the narthex of the church was different from standing *in* the church. Thus, menstruating women, otherwise banned from attending services, could indisputably stand there. That this was a widely held belief is indicated by Balsamon's last sentence: even a bishop saw no problem in reading the prayer of the Betrothal to a menstruating woman in the narthex.

The fact that the narthex is of secondary liturgical (and therefore spiritual) importance should not come as a surprise. Even Balsamon is at pains when he tries to justify the sanctity of the narthex: it has icons; the priests traverse it briefly during the Great Entrance; if tombs happen to exist in the narthex, they are censed (here Balsamon admits incidentally that tombs in narthexes were a rather common phenomenon); and finally, "services of holy prayers" are read in those spaces—obviously minor services and prayers addressing specific situations, usually found at the end of the euchologion. Although liturgical activity in the narthex was frequent, it was limited to services of secondary importance (such as the

41 "βλέπομεν σήμερον εἰς τὰ γυναικεῖα καὶ μᾶλλον μοναστήρια ἀδεῶς τοιαύτας ἱσταμένας γυναῖκας εἰς τοὺς προνάους, παντοίαις ἀγίαις εἰκόσι κεκαλλωπισμένους, καὶ εἰς δοξολογίαν Θεοῦ ἀπονεμηθέντας, καὶ ἔρωτῶντες ὅπως τοῦτο γίνεται, ἀκούομεν μὴ ἐκκλησιάζειν αὐτάς, ὅπερ ἐμοὶ τέως οὐ δοκεῖ. οὐ γάρ εἰσιν οἱ πρόναοι κοινοί, ὡς τὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προαύλια, ἀλλὰ μέρος αὐτῶν ἀπονεμηθὲν ταῖς γυναῖξι ταῖς μὴ κωλυομέναις ἐκκλησιάζειν. ὅς δὴ πρόναος, τόπος δευτέρος ἐστὶ μετανοίας, ὁ τῶν ἀκρωμένων λεγόμενος, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ, οὐδὲ ἀνδράσιν ἐφέϊται ἱστασθαι ἐπιτιμηθεῖσι μὴ ἐκκλησιάζειν, ἀλλὰ ἐξωθεν αὐτοῦ προσκλαίνειν. Ἐδεῖ γοῦν τοὺς τοιούτους προνάους, εἰς οὓς αἱ τοιαῦται ἀκάθαρτοι γυναῖκες ἐμελλον ἱστασθαι, μὴ ἀναπληροῦν τόπον ἐκκλησιῶν ἐξ ὀρθοῦ, ὥστε καὶ ἱερεῖς μετὰ τῶν θείων ἀγιασμάτων διέρχεσθαι κατὰ τὸν χερουβικὸν ὕμνον, καὶ θυμιᾶν τοὺς ἐν τούτῳ ὄντας ἰσως τάφους καὶ ἀγίους, καὶ τελετὰς ἀγίων εὐχῶν ποιεῖν. ἢ καὶ μετὰ ἐπισκοπικῆς ἐπιτροπῆς τοὺς τοιούτους τόπους ἀφορίζεσθαι, ὥστε ἀποκριματίστως ἱστασθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς τὰς ἀκαθάρτους γυναῖκας. Ἐγὼ δὲ εἶδον καὶ τοιαύτην γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τοῦ προνάου ἐστῶσαν, καὶ εὐχὴν ἀρραβῶνος, παρὰ ἀρχιερέως δεξαμένην, ὅπερ καὶ ἐθαύμασα." Ralles and Potles, *Σύνταγμα* (n. 36 above), 4:8–9. On this text see R. Taft, *The Great Entrance: A History of the Transfer of Gifts and Other Pre-Anaphoral Rites*, 2nd ed. (Rome, 1978), 199–200; idem, "Women at Church in Byzantium: Where, When—and Why?" *DOP* 52 (1998): 50–55.

Hours), and these services often required neither the use of an altar nor the presence of an officiating priest.<sup>42</sup>

42 Certain typika mention that some of the Hours were read in the narthex. The most elaborate ritual that took place in the narthex was the service of the Washing of the Feet on Holy Thursday. For this service see J. Goar, ed., *Euchologion sive Rituale Graecorum* (Venice, 1647; repr. Graz, 1960), 745–53; S. Petrides, "Le lavement des pieds le jeudi-saint dans l'église grecque," *EO* 3 (1899–1900): 321–26. The service is attested in both the 10th-century typikon of the Great Church and some monastic typika, like that of Kecharitomenē (1110–16). See J. Mateos, *Le typikon de la Grande Église*, OCA 165–66 (Rome, 1962–63), 2:72–75; "Kecharitomenē: Typikon of Empress Irene Doukaina Komnene for the Convent of the Mother of God Kecharitomenē in Constantinople," in *BMFD*, 2:652 (where it stipulates that the feast of the Epiphany be celebrated in the narthex). For the connection between the image of the Washing of the Feet and the service, see S. Tomeković, "Contribution à l'étude du programme du narthex des églises monastiques (XI<sup>e</sup>–première moitié du XIII<sup>e</sup> s.)," *Byzantion* 58 (1988): 140–54; W. Tronzo, "Mimesis in Byzantium: Notes Toward a History of the Function of the Image," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 25 (1994): 61–76; C. Barber, "Mimesis and Memory in the Narthex Mosaics at the Nea Moni, Chios," *Art History* 24, no. 3 (2001): 323–37. How common this service was in the middle and late Byzantine periods is in doubt. Moreover, it did not always take place in the narthex: in Evergetis some of the monks stood inside the church and some in the παραπτέρυγον, probably the side aisle or the *choros*. See R. H. Jordan, *The Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis* (Belfast, 2000), 474. In some Serbian churches a baptismal font was located in the narthex; see S. Ćurčić, "The Original Baptismal Font of Gračanica and its Iconographic Setting," *Zbornik radova Narodnog Muzeja* 9–10 (1979): 313–20. For a different interpretation, see Th. Papazotos, "Ἡ λεκάνη τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ τοῦ καθολικοῦ τοῦ Τιμίου Προδρόμου καὶ συναφὴ παραδείγματα ἀπὸ τῆς Μακεδονίας," in *Διεθνὲς Συνέδριο: Οἱ Σέρρες καὶ περιοχὴ τους ἀπὸ τὴν ἀρχαία στὴ μεταβυζαντινὴ κοινωνία* (Thessalonike, 1998), 2:509–24, where there is evidence for the occasional use of the narthex for the service of the Blessing of the Waters.

Confessions were occasionally heard in the narthex, as attested in the testament and typikon of Neilos Damilas for the convent of the Mother of God *Pantanassa* on Crete and in the typika of Theodora for the monastery *tu Libos* and the convent of SS. Kosmas and Damian. See "Neilos Damilas: Testament and Typikon of Neilos Damilas for the Convent of the Mother of God *Pantanassa* at Baionaia on Crete," in *BMFD*, 4:1473; "Anargyroi: Typikon of Theodora Palaiologina for the Convent of Sts. Kosmas and Damian in Constantinople," in *BMFD*, 3:1292; "Typikon of Lips," in *BMFD*, 3:1269. Hearing confessions, however, is not a liturgical activity. Very appropriately the narthex was also used for funerals and commemorative services; see Bache, "La fonction funéraire" (n. 16 above), 28–31. See also S. Kalopissi-Verti, "The Proskyneteria of the Templon and Narthex: Form, Imagery, Spatial Connections, and Reception," in *Thresholds of the Sacred*, 130–31; D. Krausmüller, "Private vs Communal: Niketas Stethatos's *Hypotyposis* for Stoudios, and Patterns of Worship in Eleventh-Century Byzantine Monasteries," in *Work and Worship at the Theotokos Evergetis 1050–1200*, ed. M.

Furthermore, it appears that services such as the Hours were read in the narthex for the sake of convenience: since they did not last long and did not necessitate the use of the altar, the attendants could be in and out quickly without using the naos and the sanctuary, thus eliminating the need to prepare these spaces.

Interestingly, in commenting on the seventy-second canon of the Council in Troullo, Balsamon contradicts himself on this same point, as he claims that the narthex is not a church. The canonist argues: "Because every space dedicated to the Lord is called *Kyriakos*, even when it is not a church but maybe a narthex or another kind of holy space, the canon dictates that people should not dine within churches and within such spaces."<sup>43</sup> Further along in the same commentary he makes this distinction clearer: "Because there is a difference between churches and narthexes along with other spaces dedicated to the Lord."<sup>44</sup> John, metropolitan of Chalcedon and a contemporary of Balsamon, provides a more explicit answer addressing the issue of burials in a church. To the question "Is it proper to bury inside the church?" John replies: "It is not. As the cemeteries should be strictly separated [from the churches]. But in the narthex, it is allowed."<sup>45</sup>

Mullett and A. Kirby (Belfast, 1997), 316, n. 28. On the liturgical use of the narthex in Constantinopolitan churches of the early Christian period see T. F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park, PA, 1971), 125–27, 139–49, esp. 145.

There is a tendency to interpret the decorative programs of the narthex as results of liturgical influence. See, for example, B. Todić, "L'influence de la liturgie sur la décoration peinte du narthex de Sopoćani," in *Drevne-russkoe iskusstvo: Rus', Vizantiia, Balkany XIII vek*, ed. A. L. Batalov (St. Petersburg, 1997), 43–58. Although a comprehensive treatment of the narthex decoration still needs to be written, it is evident that these programs were far from standardized. In fact, they present great variety in both the selection of iconographic themes and their arrangement. Furthermore, the proponents of the liturgical influences, with the exception of the scene of the Washing of the Feet, have yet to provide a secure connection between a service that took place in the narthex and the iconography of that space.

43 "Ἐπεὶ οὖν πᾶς τόπος, τῷ Κυρίῳ ἀνατεθειμένος, Κυριακὸς λέγεται, καὶ μὴ ἐκκλησία ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ πρόναος τυχόν, ἢ ἕτερόν τι ἱερόν, διορίζεται ὁ κανὼν, μὴ συμποσιάζειν τινὰς ἐν ἐκκλησίαις, ἢ ἐν τοιοῦτοις τόποις." Ralles and Potles, *Σύνταγμα* (n. 36 above), 2:477.

44 "ὥστε διαφορά ἐστὶν ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ προνάων, καὶ ἄλλων Κυριακῶν τόπων." Ibid., 2:478.

45 "Εἰκός ἐστι θάπτειν ἐν τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας; Οὐκ εἰκός. Δεῖ γὰρ κατὰ ἀκριβείαν διαστέλλειν τὰ πολυάνδρια, εἰ μὴ πως ἐν τῷ προνάῳ συγχωρηθῇσεται." M. I. Gedeon, "Θεοδώρου τοῦ Βαλσαμώνος λύσεων κανονικῶν διάφοροι γραφαί," *Εκκ. Ἀλφβ.* 39 (1915): 187. Beck has argued

Some curious uses of the narthex, namely as a space for occasional drinking and eating by the monastic community, sometimes related to the celebration of major feasts, indicate the same rather informal attitude toward the narthex.<sup>46</sup> The tenth-century Rule of Athanasios for the Great Lavra in Mount Athos instructs that after the conclusion of the services on Holy Saturday, the monks should partake of blessed bread and "about two servings of wine in the narthex."<sup>47</sup> The Rule of Nicholas for the monastery of Saint Nicholas of Kasoulon (written in 1160) specifies that on Pentecost Sunday and on the vigils of Christmas and Epiphany (if those happen to fall on a Saturday or Sunday) the monks do not go to the refectory, but eat the *klaston* (unconsecrated bread distributed at the end of the liturgy) and drink one cup of wine in the narthex.<sup>48</sup> The Rule of Neilos for the monastery of Machairas in Cyprus (written in 1210) dictates that "On Holy Saturday let there be a collation only in the narthex after the dismissal of the liturgy."<sup>49</sup> The Evergetis typikon and its related typika indicate that a light meal in the narthex was a common occurrence.<sup>50</sup>

that the author of these canonical regulations was John of Chalcedon, rather than Balsamon; see H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich*, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1977), 658.

46 For this meal, sometimes called *kataklysmos*, see G. Nicholl, "A Contribution to the Archaeological Interpretation of *Typika*: The Case of the Narthex," in *Work and Worship*, 285–308. Nicholl "ritualizes" what is evidently a quick meal to sustain the monks or nuns after a particularly lengthy service or a long period of fasting, or on a day where a regular meal was not permitted.

47 "*Ath. Rule: Rule of Athanasios the Athonite for the Lavra Monastery*," in *BMFD*, 1:226.

48 "*Kasoulon: Rule of Nicholas for the Monastery of St. Nicholas of Kasoulon near Otranto*," in *BMFD*, 4:1325.

49 "*Machairas: Rule of Neilos, Bishop of Tamasia, for the Monastery of the Mother of God of Machairas in Cyprus*," in *BMFD*, 3:1145.

50 "*Evergetis: Typikon of Timothy for the Monastery of the Mother of God Evergetis*," in *BMFD*, 2:478; "*Kosmosoteira: Typikon of the Sebastokrator Isaac Komnenos for the Monastery of the Mother of God Kosmosoteira near Bera*," in *BMFD*, 2:810; "*Phoberos: Rule of John for the Monastery of St. John the Forerunner of Phoberos*," in *BMFD*, 3:908. The typika of Machairas and Mamas also relate to Evergetis. For the collation see *BMFD*, 1:116–17, n. 27. In some instances the narthex is the starting point of the procession from the church to the refectory after the celebration of the liturgy; see A.-M. Talbot, "Mealtime in Monasteries: The Culture of the Byzantine Refectory," in L. Brubaker and K. Linardou, eds., *Eat, Drink, and Be Merry (Luke 12:19): Food and Wine in Byzantium* (Ashgate, 2007), 112.

This delimitation of importance and sanctity was also true for the naos, with the sanctuary being the most sacred space. Already in the sixth century pseudo-Dionysius instructed that during the funeral service, if the deceased is a cleric, his body should be placed in front of the altar (that is, in the sanctuary). If he is a monk or a layman, he is to be put in front of the entrance to the sanctuary (evidently a less sacred space).<sup>51</sup> A similar hierarchy of space, reflecting the hierarchy and sanctity of offices, is offered by Symeon of Thessalonike. Writing about the placement of the deceased during the funerary service Symeon instructs that “the bishops should be placed closer to the sanctuary; the priests and the other members of the clergy after them [i.e., further to the west]. As for the laity, they should be placed around the doors of the naos. This custom is more rigorously observed still in monasteries: they sing [the funeral] for the abbots and clergy inside the naos but for the common monks and laymen they do it in the narthex.”<sup>52</sup> Ioasaph, metropolitan of Ephesos in the fifteenth century, accepts as a fact this distinction between the liturgical center of the naos and the “secondary” side spaces. When asked about burying the dead in the church he replies, “The Holy Canons prohibit this. However, it happens in the sides of the naos and not in the center, nor close to the sanctuary.”<sup>53</sup>

51 “Συναγαγὼν ὁ θεὸς ἱεράρχης <τὸν> ἱερὸν χορόν, εἰ μὲν ἱερατικῆς ἐγεγόνει τάξεως ὁ κεκοιμημένος, ἐπίπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ θυσιαστηρίου κατακλίνει αὐτὸν ἀπάρχεται τῆς πρὸς θεὸν εὐχῆς καὶ εὐχαριστίας. Εἰ δὲ τοῖς εὐαγέσι μοναχοῖς ἢ τῷ ἱερῷ λαῷ κατετέτακτο, παρὰ τὸ τίμιον ἱερατεῖον αὐτὸν κατακλίνει πρὸ τῆς ἱερατικῆς εἰσελεύσεως, εἴτα τελεῖ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν εὐχαριστήριον εὐχὴν ὁ ἱεράρχης”: G. Heil and A. M. Ritter, eds., *Corpus Dionysiacum*, vol. 2, *Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita: De coelesti hierarchia, de ecclesiastica hierarchia, de mystica theologia, epistulae*, *Patristische Texte und Studien* 36 (Berlin, 1991), 122–23.

52 “Διὸ καὶ ὧδε χρῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀρχιερεῖς ἐγγύτερον τιθέναι τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου. τοὺς ἱερεῖς δὲ μετ’ αὐτοὺς καὶ λοιποὺς πάντας κληρικούς, περὶ δὲ τὰς πύλας τοῦ ναοῦ τοὺς λαϊκούς, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐν ταῖς μοναῖς ἀκριβέστερον ἐστὶ τηρεῖται. καὶ τοὺς μὲν καθηγουμένους καὶ ἱερωμένους ψάλλουσι ἔνδον τοῦ ναοῦ, τοὺς ἰδιώτας δὲ μοναχοὺς, ἢ καὶ λαϊκούς, ἐν τῷ νάρθηκι,” PG 155:677. This text is often misunderstood, probably because of the heading of this paragraph, as addressing the location of tombs inside a church. However, Symeon clearly discusses the funeral service.

53 “Εἰ δεῖ θάπτειν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ λείψανον. καὶ τοῦτο οἱ ἱεροὶ κανόνες κωλοῦσιν. πλὴν γίνεται δὲ εἰς τὰ πλάγια τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὸ μέσον, οὐδὲ πλησίον τοῦ ἁγίου βήματος,” A. Almazov, *Kanonicheskie otvety Ioasafa, mitropolita Efessakogo (Maloizvestnyi pamiatnik prava Grecheskoi Tserkvi XV v.): Tekst i perevod s predvaritel'nykh ocherkov*

Although the Byzantines did not develop a systematic approach to church burial, evidence from these texts indicates that different degrees of holiness were assigned to the various parts of a Byzantine church, and that this demarcation was connected to the liturgical importance of each space. Thus, the sanctuary and the central bay, the stage where most of the liturgy was performed, were considered the holiest. These areas came to represent the church as a whole, and, in accordance with the pertinent imperial and ecclesiastical regulations, they were off-limits for burial. On the other hand, less significance was attached to the narthex and the side aisles of the naos, spaces where the liturgical activity was restricted to minor services. This gradation of holiness provides the theoretical, albeit unarticulated, justification for the placement of tombs in those areas of secondary importance. Judging from archaeological evidence in the church of the Theotokos *tou Libos*, this concept had been accepted as valid in Constantinople as early as the early tenth century if not before.

### The Tombs in the Church of Theotokos

During Macridy’s investigation of the Lips complex he accidentally discovered a series of undisturbed tombs inside and outside the church of the Theotokos (fig. 2, nos. 1–10).<sup>54</sup> Under the floor of the north church’s narthex, five marble sarcophagi were discovered (figs. 3–4).<sup>55</sup> four single ones (fig. 2, nos. 2–5) and one double (no. 6) containing six bodies in total. All the burials were arrayed in pairs, aligned with each of the three doors leading to the naos, with the corpses’ heads located to the west and their feet to the east. Each sarcophagus was covered with two roughly hewn stones and rested on a layer of tiles below.<sup>56</sup> Macridy reports that the burials were found under a solid bed of mortar thirty-five centimeters thick. But judging from his photographs, the tombs were just a few centimeters below the level of the doorsill. Four of the sarcophagi

*i primechaniiami* (Odessa, 1903), 183; G. M. Arampatzoglou, ed., *Φώτειος Βιβλιοθήκη*, 2 vols. (Constantinople, 1935), 2:245.

54 Macridy, “Monastery of Lips” (n. 1 above), 271–72. Unfortunately, apart from the limited information in Macridy’s report, nothing more is known about these finds.

55 See also *ibid.*, figs. 71–73.

56 Macridy reports that the cover stones were 15 to 20 cm thick.



FIG. 3 Church of the Theotokos, tomb 6 looking southeast. Photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives.



FIG. 4 Church of the Theotokos, tombs 4–5 looking north. Photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives.



(nos. 3–6) were anthropomorphic with a cavity for the head at the west. These were decorated with a simple carved cross on the outside.<sup>57</sup> The sarcophagus located in front of the south door to the naos (no. 6) was carved from a single block of stone and had two compartments.

Early Christian anthropoid sarcophagi similar to those found in the Lips monastery may be seen in the courtyard of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.<sup>58</sup> Two sarcophagi of this type were excavated near Manastır Mescidi.<sup>59</sup> Macridy further reports the excavation of four more tombs “of different sizes” under the floor of the present-day outer ambulatory (fig. 2, nos. 7–10). Regrettably the excavator considered them later in date (second half of the fifteenth century) and the report says little about them. In Mamboury’s plan we can see that one of the sarcophagi is of the anthropoid type (no. 9), and another contained the remains of a child (no. 10). Three of the tombs (nos. 7–9) were originally under a vaulted porch that was later demolished, maybe during the construction of the outer ambulatory in the late thirteenth century.

Another underground tomb (no. 1) was recorded in the north aisle of the naos of the church of Theotokos, located in the center of the aisle wall, just in front of the large tripartite window. Unfortunately there is no visual record of it, but according to Macridy’s description it was a typical cist tomb, dug in the ground, faced with marble slabs, and covered with a marble plaque resting on transverse iron bars. The iron nails found inside this burial would have come from a wooden coffin.<sup>60</sup> Macridy suggests that this was the tomb of Andronikos II (1282–1328), who was indeed buried in Lips, although the excavator does not provide evidence for this identification.<sup>61</sup> The tomb might indeed be of late Byzantine date, when it was more common to bury people within the naos, and in

all likelihood it belonged to someone of significance. A close parallel in terms of location is found in the church of Blacherna in Arta, where two marble sarcophagi (now much altered) for imperial family members were set against the north and south walls of the naos. The south tomb belonged to the despot Michael II Komnenos Doukas (1206–1266). The north tomb contained the remains of John and Michael, sons of Theodora Komnenodoukaina.<sup>62</sup>

Macridy dates the burials in the narthex of the church of Theotokos to the sixth century based on the style of the sarcophagi and on his idea that Constantine Lips restored an earlier sixth-century building, parts of which were incorporated into the tenth-century structure. The 1960s investigations of Mango, Hawkins, and especially Megaw prove Macridy’s theory of a preexisting sixth-century foundation to be erroneous. As for the date of the sarcophagi, the reuse of such early Christian and late antique commodities was very common in Byzantium, even among emperors.<sup>63</sup> There is little doubt that the five tombs within the narthex and the four tombs just outside it belong to the middle Byzantine period. They certainly post-date the construction of the north church, given their perfect alignment with the doors of the naos and the narthex. The tombs predate Theodora’s thirteenth-century renovation, since the type of burials in the south church is homogeneous and different from the tombs in the north church. Theodora’s typikon, which is very explicit about burials in the church, does not prescribe that any such burial arrangement was to be made in the north church.

Is it possible to suggest anything concrete about the identity of the people buried in the north church of the monastery *tou Libos*, despite the loss of hard archaeological evidence from the site? It has been argued that burying the dead in churches was a continuation of *ad sanctos* burials, a very common practice in early Christian times. Pallas, Emmanouilidis, and others have argued that the transfer of relics to *intra*

57 Macridy, “Monastery of Lips,” figs. 71, 73.

58 G. Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines* (Constantinople, 1912–14), 3: cat. no. 1321.

59 Pasadaios, *Επί δύο Βυζαντινών μνημείων* (n. 26 above), drawing 29.

60 Mamboury’s longitudinal section suggests the existence of a coffin; see Macridy, “Monastery of Lips,” fig. 7.

61 It is possible that Andronikos II was buried in the tomb located in the middle of the north aisle as indicated by Theodora’s typikon; see Delehay, *Deux typica*, 130; “*Typikon of Lips*” (both n. 10 above), 1278–79.

62 A. K. Orlandos, “Ἡ παρὰ τὴν Ἄρταν μονὴ τῶν Βλαχερνῶν,” *Αρχ.Βυζ.Μνημ.Ελλ.* 2 (1936): 30–37, 42–49; B. N. Papadopoulou, *Ἡ Βυζαντινὴ Ἄρτα καὶ τὰ μνημεῖά της* (Athens, 2002), 76–78.

63 See, for example, U. Peschlow, “Die Architektur der Nikolaos Kirche in Myra,” in *Myra: Eine Lykische Metropole in antiker und byzantinischer Zeit*, ed. J. Borchhardt (Berlin, 1975), 426, 428, pls. 143A–B; C. Mango, “Three Imperial Byzantine Sarcophagi Discovered in 1750,” *DOP* 16 (1962): 397–402.

*urbem* churches resulted in the appearance of tombs within those foundations.<sup>64</sup> However, this is not necessarily the case. Every consecrated church contained relics of martyrs which, during the service of the *enkainia*, were placed in or under the altar table, and the north church of the monastery *tou Libos* was no exception.<sup>65</sup> Yet these relics, evidently just small fragments, were contained in very small reliquary boxes that were subsequently buried and sealed, thus becoming inaccessible. I know of no instances in which such relics were approached by the faithful or venerated in any way, and the name of the martyr to whom they belonged was rarely, if ever, recorded. Thus *enkainia* relics had a function different from that of other relics, which were kept in churches and monasteries, or, in the early Christian period, in *martyria*.<sup>66</sup>

A plethora of information from the *typika* of Byzantine monasteries indicates that one of the foremost reasons, if not *the* foremost reason, for establishing a monastery was the salvation of the soul of the patron, in exchange for his or her commitment to glorify God through the foundation. One's soul was also helped by the continuous and regular prayers and commemorations that the monastic community offered on behalf of the patron and his or her family.<sup>67</sup> This idea is beautifully encapsulated in the testament (written in 1232) of presbyter Alexios Tesaites, who writes, "Those who erect churches, they do it for three reasons: first to praise God; second, to pray on behalf of the emperor's rule; third to commemorate those who are buried

there and the orthodox everywhere."<sup>68</sup> The first two reasons are rather generic, but commemoration of the dead buried in those churches and monasteries (and we can safely assume that Alexios refers to the patrons of these foundations) more explicitly expresses the hopes of the patrons. A similar sentiment is expressed in a text by Michael, bishop of Demetrias, in his discussion of Nicholas/Ioasaph Maliasenos in the thirteenth century: "Because, as I see, many other chapels and pious institutions were founded by him [Ioasaph] for the salvation of his soul and the continuous commemoration of the orthodox emperors and of all Christians."<sup>69</sup>

Although the tomb of the patron or founder could have been placed at various locations in the monastery, the most desirable spot was inside the church, specifically in the narthex or, less commonly, in the side aisles. There is both textual and archaeological evidence demonstrating that patrons, along with prominent members of the monastic and ecclesiastical community, were buried in narthexes.<sup>70</sup> When Nikephoros, the founder of the monastery *tou Medikiou* in Bithynia, died in 813, his body was "transferred with sacred hymnody and candles and incense, and was deposited in the church of the archangel, to the left part of the narthex, as he, when still alive, had arranged for [his] tomb."<sup>71</sup> Niketas, his successor, was also buried "at the tomb of our common father Nikephoros, which he built for himself when he was still alive to the left of the narthex."<sup>72</sup> Saint Kliment of Ohrid (d. 916)

64 D. Pallas, "Σαλαμινιακά," *Αρχ.Εφ.* (1950–51): 176–80; Emmanouilidis, *Το δίκαιο της ταφής* (n. 11 above), 185–86, 189, 206–23; Laskaris, *Monuments funéraires* (n. 21 above), 24–30. See also Y. Duval, *Auprès des saints corps et âme: L'inhumation "ad sanctos" dans la chrétienté d'Orient et d'Occident du III<sup>e</sup> au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1988).

65 V. Marinis, "Παρατηρήσεις για την Λειτουργία και την Αρχιτεκτονική στην Μονή του Λιβός στην Κωνσταντινούπολη," in *Βυζαντινή Αρχιτεκτονική και Λατρευτική Πράξη*, ed. E. Chatzetryphonos and F. Karayianni (Thessalonike, 2006), 57–62.

66 See also A. Grabar, *Martyrium: Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1943; repr. London, 1972), 1:37–44, 385–93, and A. M. Yasin, *Saints and Church Spaces in the Late Antique Mediterranean: Architecture, Cult, and Community* (Cambridge, 2009), 151–209.

67 On the obligations and rights of the founders of monasteries, see I. M. Konidares, *Νομική θεώρηση των μοναστηριακών τυπικών* (Athens, 1984), 36–43, with further bibliography.

68 "Οἱ θεῖους οἴκους ἀνεγείροντες ἐν τρισὶν ὑποθέσεσιν τοῦτο ποιοῦσι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἰς τὸ ἐξυμνεῖσθαι τὸ θεῖον, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον εἰς τὸ ὑπερέχουσθαι τοῦ κράτους τῶν βασιλέων, τὸ τρίτον δὲ εἰς τὸ μνημονεύειν τοὺς ἐκείσε τεθαμμένους καὶ ἀπανταχοῦ ὀρθοδόξους," F. Miklosich and I. Müller, eds., *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana* (Vienna, 1860–90; repr. Athens, 1961), 4:58.

69 "πολλὰ γάρ, ὡς ὁρῶ, καὶ ἕτερα εὐκτήρια καὶ σεμνεῖα ἀνηγέρθησαν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐνεκεν ψυχικῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας καὶ μνημοσύνου διηγεκοῦς τῶν ὀρθοδόξων βασιλέων καὶ πάντων τῶν χριστιανῶν." *Ibid.*, 4:425.

70 See also Bache, "La fonction funéraire" (n. 16 above), 43. For an excellent overview of the limited archaeological evidence see M. Popović, "Les funéraires du ktitor: Aspect archéologique," in *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (London, 2006), 99–130.

71 "καὶ ἀπετέθη ἐν τῷ σηκῷ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου ἐν τῷ νάρθηκι τῷ λαιῷ μέρει, ἣν αὐτὸς ἐτι ζῶν διετάξατο θήκην," F. Halkin, "La Vie de saint Nicéphore, fondateur de Médikion en Bithynie," *AB* 78 (1960): 424.

72 "κατατεθήκαμεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ μνημείῳ τοῦ κοινοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νικηφόρου, ὃ ἐποίησεν ἑαυτῷ ἐτι ζῶν ἐξ εὐωνύμων τοῦ νάρθηκος;" see *ibid.*, 424, n. 5.

had constructed his own tomb on the right side of the pronaos in the monastery of Saint Panteleimon, which he had founded.<sup>73</sup> Paul the Younger (d. 995), founder of the monastery of the Theotokos *tou Styliou* on Mount Latros, was buried in the narthex of the church.<sup>74</sup> The body of Saint Ignatios, the tenth-century abbot of the monastery of Savior Bathyrhryx in Cappadocia, was transferred from its original burial site back to the monastery and was deposited on the left side of the narthex.<sup>75</sup> Lazaros (d. 1053), founder of, among others, the monastery of Anastasis on Mount Galesion, was buried in the narthex of the katholikon.<sup>76</sup> Theodora of Arta (d. ca. 1270), wife of Michael II Komnenos Doukas of Epiros, was buried in the south side of the narthex in the monastic church of Saint George, which she had founded.<sup>77</sup> Isaac Komnenos (d. ca. 1152) in the *typikon* of Kosmosoteira instructs that his tomb should be placed on the left side of the narthex in an extension to the building made specially for it. Although the Kosmosoteira does not have a narthex proper, Ousterhout convincingly proposes that

Isaac's tomb was located in the northwest corner bay.<sup>78</sup> In this case, the three western bays of the naos took up the frequent burial function of the narthex.

This list is by no means exhaustive, but rather is indicative of the widespread custom in the middle and late Byzantine periods of burying patrons, along with other eminent members of the monastic and ecclesiastical communities, in the narthex.<sup>79</sup> The evidence stands against the supposition of Gordana Babić that narthex burials belonged to people who could not afford to build a separate chapel.<sup>80</sup> Many of the interments mentioned here were of persons capable of building a chapel. Burial in the narthex was not a second-best choice for these individuals, but a desired place for burial.

It is very likely, in my view, that the tombs inside and outside the narthex in the church of Theotokos *tou Libos* belonged to Constantine Lips and members of his family and/or distinguished members of the monastic community.<sup>81</sup> Indeed, it is tempting to hypothesize that Constantine Lips occupied one of the two sarcophagi aligned with the central door to the nave (fig. 2, nos. 4–5). In this context, the child buried outside

73 “Τὸ δὲ θεῖον αὐτοῦ σῶμα . . . τῷ ἐν τῇ μονῇ μνημείῳ ἐνετέθη, ὅπερ αὐτὸς οἰκείαις χερσὶ κατεσκεύασε κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν τοῦ προνάου μέρος,” A. Milev, ed., *Gruckite zitijsa na Kliment Ochridski* (Sofia, 1966), 142.

74 “ἐθάπτετο μὲν οὖν τὸ πολυαθλον ἐκεῖνο σῶμα καὶ νικηφόρον ἐν χρῶ τοῦ ναοῦ, νάρθηκα τὸν τόπον καλεῖν εἰώθαμεν,” H. Delehay, “Vita S. Pauli Iunioris in Monte Latro,” *AB* 11 (1892): 165. Eventually Paul's remains were transferred to a special chapel.

75 “καὶ κατέθηκαν αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ νάρθηκι τῆς αὐτόθι ἀγιοτάτης ἐκκλησίας τῷ εὐωνύμῳ μέρει, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐπ’ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,” H. Delehay, ed., *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae: Propylaeum ad AASS Novembris* (Brussels, 1902), 86.

76 “Τούτων οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀντιβαλλομένων ἱκανῶς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἔκριναν ἐν γλωσσοκόμῳ θάψαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν τῷ νάρθηκι κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος τῆς ἐκκλησίας θεῖναι, ἕως οὗ ἡγούμενος γένηται, καὶ τότε μετὰ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης, ὅπερ ἂν κριθεῖν βέλτιον εἶναι, τοῦτο καὶ ποιῆσαι αὐτοῦς. Καὶ δὴ γλωσσόκομον ἐτοιμάσαντες ἐκ ξύλων ἀσήπτων ἦτοι κυπαρισσειῶν, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἱερὸν ἐκείνου σῶμα κατατιθέασιν ἐν τῷ ῥηθέντι δεξιῷ μέρει τοῦ νάρθηκος, καλύψαντες αὐτὸ μετὰ πλακῶν μαρμάρου ἔξωθεν, ὁγδόην τότε τοῦ νοεμβρίου μηνὸς ἄγοντος, ἐν ᾗ τελεῖται καὶ ἡ τῶν μεγίστων ἀρχαγγέλων πανήγυρις,” “Vita S. Lazari auctore Gregorio monacho,” in *AASS Nov. III* (1910): 588; see also R. P. H. Greenfield, *The Life of Lazaros of Mt. Galesion: An Eleventh-Century Pillar Saint* (Washington, DC, 2000), 362–63.

77 This church is now dedicated to St. Theodora. The form of her tomb has been severely altered. See A. K. Orlandos, “Ο τάφος τῆς Ἀγ. Θεοδώρας,” *Αρχ. Βυζ. Μνημ. Ελλ.* 2 (1936): 105–15; Papadopoulou, *Η Βυζαντινὴ Ἀρτα καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα τῆς*, 51–52; T. Pazaras, *Ανάγλυφες σαρκοφάγοι καὶ ἐπιτάφιας πλάκες τῆς μέσης καὶ ὑστερῆς Βυζαντινῆς περιόδου* (Athens, 1988), 42.

78 R. G. Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (Princeton, NJ, 1999), 122–25; *BMFD*, 2:838.

79 See also A. Papageorgiou, “The Narthex of the Churches of the Middle Byzantine Period in Cyprus,” in *Rayonnement Grec: Hommages à Charles Delvoye*, ed. L. Hadermann-Misguich and G. Raepsaet (Brussels, 1982), 437–48 and especially 447. For examples in Serbia and Bulgaria see Ćurčić, “Royal Tombs” (n. 33 above), 175–94; Bache, “La fonction funéraire” (n. 16 above), 26–27. For further examples from Greece see Laskaris, *Monuments funéraires* (n. 21 above), 266–67. Pallas connects this phenomenon with the appearance of the Byzantine “feudal” class; see Pallas, “Σαλαμινιακά” (n. 64 above), 179–80. However, not only laymen were buried in the narthex but also clergy.

80 G. Babić, *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantines: Fonction liturgique et programmes iconographiques* (Paris, 1969), 172.

81 E. A. Ivison has also suggested without further elaboration that the tombs in the narthex of the north church were of the family of Constantine Lips; see C. S. Lightfoot and E. A. Ivison, “The Amorium Project: The 1998 Excavation Season,” *DOP* 55 (2001): 379. Intact tombs, dating to the 10th and 11th centuries and most likely of aristocrats and local dignitaries, were excavated in the narthex of the Lower City Church at Amorium; see *ibid.*, 374–79; C. S. Lightfoot et al., “The Amorium Project: Excavation and Research in 2002,” *DOP* 59 (2005): 243–52.

the southwestern door of the narthex could have been a member of Lips' family.<sup>82</sup>

Mamboury's plan indicates that all the tombs were aligned with the door openings, and all faced east. This arrangement of the burials most certainly relates to Byzantine ideas about the *Parousia*, the Second Coming of Christ, which would begin in the east, and during which all the dead would be called from the tombs.<sup>83</sup> Prayers recited during the funeral service, already found in the Barberini *Euchologion*, constantly refer to the "hope for the resurrection of the dead," an ancient Christian belief.<sup>84</sup> This placement of the tombs testifies to not only the Byzantine conviction in Christ's second advent but the importance of securing a good view of it.

### The Tombs in the Church of Saint John

Twelve masonry tombs (fig. 2, nos. I–XII) and three ossuaries (fig. 2, A–C) were discovered in the naos and narthex of the Palaiologan south church during Macridy's investigation, along with another seven in the outer ambulatory (nos. XII–XIX), some set in *arcosolia*.<sup>85</sup> Human remains had probably been cleared already by the fifteenth century, when the church was converted into a *mesjid*. As is the case with the north church, there is no photographic record of the tombs, and therefore one has to rely solely on Macridy's description and Mamboury's plan. The tombs were

relatively small, measuring 2.50–2.80 meters in length, 0.90–1.40 meters in width, and 1.40–2.00 meters in depth. The lower part of each tomb narrowed to a space of about 0.60 by 0.60 m.<sup>86</sup> Macridy reports the discovery of three ossuaries.<sup>87</sup> One of them, equipped with a sliding lid, was placed against the east wall of the narthex. Another was found in the naos in the eastern niche of the southern aisle, along with a smaller triangular ossuary next to it.

Late Byzantine sources pertinent to the burials in the church of Saint John and the outer ambulatory are plentiful. The *typikon* of Theodora stipulates that the church of Saint John was to serve as a mausoleum for her family. It outlines very specific instructions concerning the burials in the south church, including Theodora's own burial:

It is now time to be mindful of death, since there is no one "that lives and never sees death." First I will make clear to my family and descendants my wishes concerning my own burial. The body of my daughter is buried to the right of the entrance to the church of [Saint John] the Forerunner. My tomb and that of my honored mother (for I cannot bear to be separated from her even after my death) should be built after the intervening door. In the future any of my children or sons-in-law who request during their lifetime to be laid to rest here shall be suitably buried. The same shall apply to my grandsons and granddaughters, daughters-in-law, and the husbands of granddaughters, for all of whom there are to be annual commemorations. The opposite side, on your left as you leave for the old church of the Virgin, will be totally reserved for whatever purpose desired by my son the emperor.<sup>88</sup>

86 Ibid., fig. 6. Macridy suggests that this space was covered with a grid or perforated slab so that the liquids resulting from decomposition would flow down to it.

87 On the topic of ossuaries see Laskaris, *Monuments funéraires* (n. 21 above), 283–84.

88 "Ὡρα δὴ μνησθῆναι καὶ τελευτῆς, ἐπεὶ περ οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν δὲς ζήσεται καὶ οὐκ ὄψεται θάνατον· καὶ γοῦν περὶ ἐμοῦ πρώτης, ὅπῃ τέ μου καὶ ὅπως τὸν νεκρὸν κατατεθῆναι μοι βούλητόν, τοῖς ἐξ ἐμοῦ καὶ μετ' ἐμὲ δῆλον ἀπάρτι ποιήσομαι· ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν εἰσιόντι τὸν τοῦ Προδρόμου νεῶν ὁ νεκρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς προκατατεθείς ἐστι θυγατρός, μετὰ δὲ τὴν μεταξὺ πύλην ὁ ἐμὸς καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς τιμίας μητρός ἐγεγνήσεται· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀνέχομαι διαστήναι ταύτης καὶ μετὰ θάνατον· μετὰ δὲ γε τῶν ἐμῶν

82 It was not uncommon for parents to dedicate their offspring to a monastery at an early age. Such was the case, for example, in Patmos; see "Christodoulos: Rule, Testament and Codicil of Christodoulos for the Monastery of St. John the Theologian on Patmos," in *BMFD*, 2:596. Christodoulos himself joined "a flock of monks" when he was still a child (579). The *typikon* of Lips also mentions acceptance not only of children but also of babies; see "*Typikon* of Lips" (n. 42 above), 1271; Delehay, *Deux typica* (n. 10 above), 116. However, I find it unlikely that any child would have received such a privileged burial.

83 E. Peterson, "Die Einholung des Kyrios," *Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie* 7 (1929): 682–702; Y. Christe, *La vision de Matthieu (Matth. XXIV–XXV): Origines et développement d'une image de la Seconde Parousie* (Paris, 1973); Kyriakakis, "Byzantine Burial Customs" (n. 11 above), 55–56.

84 "ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ἀναστάσεως," see S. Parenti and E. Velkovska, eds., *L'eucologio Barberini gr. 336, ff. 1–263*, 2nd ed. (Rome, 2000), 235. The phrase comes from the words of Paul in Acts 23:6.

85 Macridy, "Monastery of Lips" (n. 1 above), 269–71.

One of Theodora's daughters, most probably Anna,<sup>89</sup> had already been buried in the church, whereas her other two daughters were still alive at the time of the typikon's drafting.<sup>90</sup> After the initial burials, several more members of the imperial family were interred in the monastery *tou Libos*. The first was Constantine, the younger brother of Andronikos II, who had been condemned and imprisoned since 1293 and died on 5 May 1304. The passage from Pachymeres states that Constantine "was buried like the common men in the outermost tombs," probably indicating that his tomb was located in the outer ambulatory.<sup>91</sup> The next person known to have been buried in Lips is Eirene, first wife of Andronikos III, who died in Rhaidestos on 16 August 1324.<sup>92</sup> She was followed by Andronikos II Palaiologos, son of Theodora, who died on 13 February 1332.<sup>93</sup> Last to be interred was Anna, the Russian first wife of John

VIII Palaiologos, who died in the plague of 1418.<sup>94</sup> A funerary stele now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum depicts a nun called Maria, "the faithful *sebaste* and a daughter of Palaiologos."<sup>95</sup> Even though it was a stray find, it was quickly attributed to the monastery *tou Libos*. The identification of this Maria remains elusive. If the stele indeed comes from Lips, she was probably one of Theodora's descendants. Therefore, there is information to justify the existence of some seven tombs. Unfortunately, with the exception of the typikon, none of these sources specifies the locations of the tombs.

Very limited information comes from Theodore Metochites, who alludes to Theodora's tomb in his funeral oration for the beloved empress. Metochites comments that the empress had a "long time ago prepared everything regarding the burial, the tomb and its covering (?), as it is appropriate, and the funerary fixtures (?) and written petitions."<sup>96</sup> His language,

τε παίδων ὅστις ἂν ἐπιτάξειε περιῶν ἐνθάδε καταπεσεῖν, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θυγατρᾶσι γαμβρῶν, προσηκόντως κατατεθήσεται. Ὡς δὲ υἱωνοὶ τε καὶ ἐγγόνοι, νύμφαι τε καὶ ἐπ' ἐγγόνοις γαμβροί· ὧν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἐτησίως μνημόσυνα τελεσθήσεται. Τὸ δ' αὖ ἀντικρὺ καὶ ἐξ εὐωνύμων τῷ πρὸς τὸν παλαιὸν ἐντεῦθεν ἀπιδόντι τῆς Θεοτόκου σηκὸν παρεθήσεται ἅπαν καί, ὅπερ ἂν μου τῷ υἱεὶ καὶ βασιλεῖ δόξειεν, ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενήσεται." Delehaye, *Deux typica* (n. 10 above), 130; "Typikon of Lips" (n. 42 above), 1278–79. Trans. A.-M. Talbot.

89 Theodora had three daughters, named Irene, Anna, and Eudokia. Macridy believed without reason that Eudokia was the one buried in the south church. However, Mango and Hawkins noted that Eudokia died in Trebizond and was, in all likelihood, buried there. Anna was also dead before 1301. According to Pachymeres it was at that date that her widowed husband ("τὴν συνοικοῦσαν πρὸ χρόνων ἀποβᾶλῶν"), Michael Koutroules, married the daughter of the Serbian kralj Terterij; see A. Failler, ed., *Georges Pachymérés relations historiques*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1984–2000), 4:333. Eirene, on the other hand, died at an advanced age (see Mango and Hawkins, "Additional Notes" [n. 3 above], 302, n. 16 and *PLP*, 9:66–67). See also Talbot, "Theodora Palaiologina" (n. 8 above), 299.

90 Delehaye, *Deux typica*, 130; "Typikon of Lips," 1278.

91 "Κελεύει γὰρ βασιλεὺς, καὶ πλεῖστον ὅσον ἐξ ἱερατικοῦ καὶ μοναχικοῦ τάγματος, ἐξηγουμένου καὶ πατριάρχου σὺν ἀρχιερεῦσι καὶ κλήρῳ παντί, συναθροίζεται. καὶ ὑπὸ δαψιλέσι φωσὶ καὶ λαμπάσι καὶ ψαλμῳδαῖς μεσοῦσης ἡμέρας, τῇ τοῦ Λείψη μονῇ παραπέμπεται καὶ οὕτω λαμπρῶς καὶ πολυτελῶς, μόνον δὴ φέρων εἰς μνήμην τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν δουλείαν καὶ ψιλὸν ὄνομα, κατὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τοῖς ἐξωτάτω σορίοις ἐνταφιάζεται," Failler, *Georges Pachymérés*, 4:467.

92 "τὸν μὲν οὖν νεκρὸν αὐτῆς κομίσαντες εἰς Βυζάντιον, ἐν τῇ τοῦ Λιβὸς ἐθαψαν μονῇ μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ βασιλικῶς." See L. Schopen, ed., *Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris historiarum libri iv*, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1828–32), 1:193–94.

93 "Ἀμα δ' ἡλίψ τὸν ἐκεῖνον νεκρὸν ἐς τὴν μονὴν τοῦ Λιβὸς

ἐπικεκλημένην ἀπήνεγκαν, ἣν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ Θεοδώρα ἡ δέσποινα ἀνεκαίνισεν. ἐνθα δὴ καὶ τὸ πένθος κατ' ἔθος ἐπὶ ἐννέα ἡμέρας τετέλεσται." See L. Schopen and I. Bekker, eds., *Nicephori Gregorae historiae Byzantinae*, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1829–1855), 1:463.

94 "Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θανατικοῦ γενομένου περὶ τὸ ἔαρ καὶ τὸ θέρος καὶ εἰς τὴν Πόλιν, ἐν μηνὶ Αὐγούστῳ ἀπέθανε καὶ ἡ δέσποινα κυρὰ Ἄννα ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωσσίας λοιμώθει νόσῳ καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τῇ τοῦ Λιβὸς μονῇ." See V. Grecu, ed., *Georgios Sphrantzes Memorii (1401–1477)* (Bucarest, 1966), 8. The tomb of Anna is also reported by the Russian visitor Zosima the Deacon, who visited Constantinople in the early fifteenth century. See G. P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, DC, 1984), 188, 309–12.

95 W. H. Buckler, "The Monument of a Palaiologina," in *Mélanges offerts à Gustave Schlumberger* (Paris, 1924), 521–26; A. Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines du moyen âge II (XI–XIV siècle)* (Paris, 1976), 127–29, cat. no. 128; A.-M. Talbot, "Epigrams in Context: Metrical Inscriptions on Art and Architecture of the Palaiologan Age," *DOP* 53 (1999): 80–81; S. T. Brooks, "Two Fragments from a Tomb Monument for the Nun Maria Palaiologina," in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, ed. H. C. Evans (New York, 2004), 104–5; T. Papamastorakes, "Επιτύμβιες παραστάσεις κατὰ τὴ μέση καὶ ὕστερη βυζαντινὴ περίοδο," *Δελτ. Χριστ. Αρχ. Έτ.* vol. 4 no. 19 (1996–97): 300–302, figs. 13–14.

96 "Σὺ μὲν γε πρότερον οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἔτεσιν ἅπαντα πρὸς τὴν ταφὴν ἐσκευάζου καὶ μνήματά σοι καὶ περιταφίους στέγας, οἷα δὴ νομίζεται, καὶ ἐπιπλά κατατύμβια καὶ δεήσεις ἐν γράμμασι." See "Μονωδία ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλίδι Θεοδώρα, τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως μητρὶ," in A. Sideras, ed., 25 *ἀνέκδοτοι βυζαντινοὶ ἐπιτάφιοι* (Thessalonike, 1991), 247–67, esp. 259.



FIG. 5 Church of Saint John, inner ambulatory, SE arcosolium. Photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives.

unfortunately but not surprisingly, is vague. The words *στέγαι* and *ἐπιπλά* might refer to the sculptural and otherwise decoration of the tomb, parts of which may have survived.<sup>97</sup> Equally unclear is the meaning of the written petitions/prayers that Theodora had prepared. Mango suggests that the phrase implies the *typikon*, whereas Talbot takes it as a reference to an epitaph.<sup>98</sup> I believe, however, that the phrase indicates the specific instructions that Theodora left in the *typikon* regarding the memorial services (an appropriate, albeit liberal, translation for the word *δεήσεις*) for herself and her family. These instructions concern the annual commemorations, the number of loaves of bread to be consecrated in memory of her family, and the *stauria* (eucharistic bread offering in the shape of a cross) to be offered every Saturday.<sup>99</sup>

Despite the *typikon*'s detailed instructions, there is still some uncertainty regarding the precise loca-

tion of the tombs of Theodora, her daughter, and her mother, Eudokia.<sup>100</sup> It has been assumed that Theodora and her mother were buried in separate graves, but the wording of the relevant passage of the *typikon* (“ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν εἰσιόντι τὸν τοῦ Προδρόμου νεῶν ὁ νεκρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς προκατατεθείς ἐστι θυγατρός, μετὰ δὲ τὴν μεταξὺ πύλην ὁ ἐμὸς καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς τιμίας μητρός ἐγεροθήσεται”) might imply that they were placed in the same tomb. This was a common practice, as is clear from the lists of imperial tombs in the capital.<sup>101</sup>

Where was Theodora's tomb located? Macridy suggests that Theodora's daughter was buried in one of the tombs found at the west end of the south aisle (fig. 2, nos. V–VII), while Theodora and her mother were buried in the two larger tombs located in the middle of the south aisle (nos. VIII–IX). Mango and Hawkins, on

97 The arch with busts of the apostles discovered by Macridy is of Palaiologan date and originally belonged to a tomb niche in the south church, maybe that of Theodora. See Macridy, “Monastery of Lips” (n. 1 above), 262–65; H. Belting, “Skulptur aus der Zeit um 1300 in Konstantinopel,” *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 23 (1972): 63–100 and especially 67–70.

98 Mango and Hawkins, “Additional Notes” (n. 3 above), 301. Talbot, “Theodora Palaiologina” (n. 8 above), 299 and note 41.

99 Delehaye, *Deux typica*, 122–23, 130; “*Typikon* of Lips” (both n. 10 above), 1274, 1278–79.

100 For Eudokia see *PLP*, 3:121.

101 There are numerous examples of this practice. In most cases the husband and wife were buried together, although mother and son or daughter was not unusual either. For example, Constantine I and his mother Helena shared the same sarcophagus, as did Theophano, first wife of Leo VI, and her daughter Eudokia. See J. J. Reiske, ed., *Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris de ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae libri duo*, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1829), 1:642–49; G. Downey, “The Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors at the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople,” *JHS* 79 (1959): 37–42. For an overview of those lists and the relationship with each other see Downey, “Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors,” 28–29.

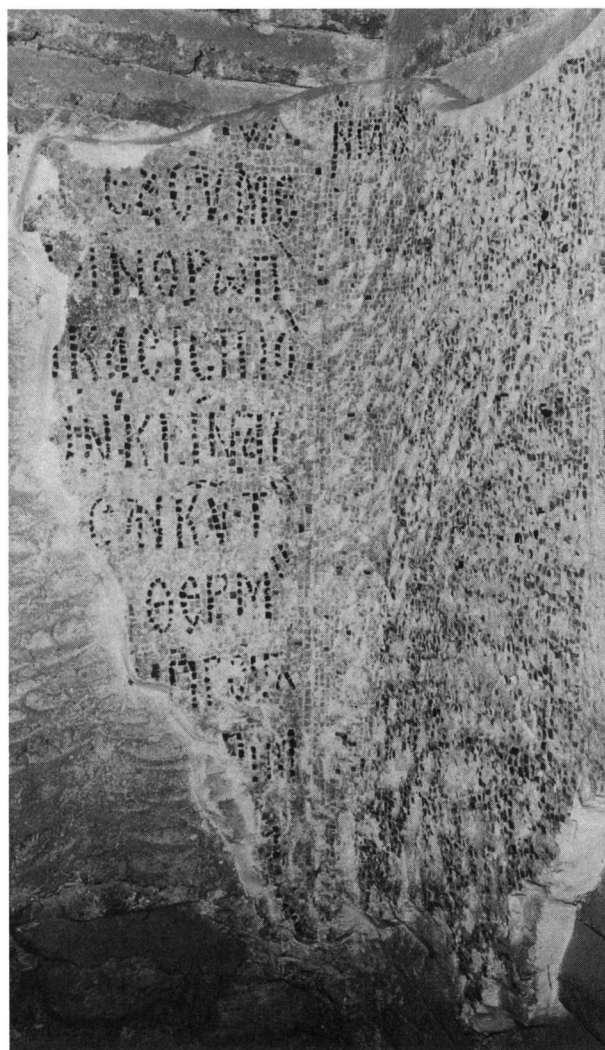


FIG. 6 Church of Saint John, inner ambulatory, sw arcosolium (tomb VII). Photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives

the other hand, argue from the typikon's instructions that the tombs were located in the arcosolia of the south church: Theodora's in the eastern one (where ossuaries A and B were located) and her daughter's in the western (no. VII).<sup>102</sup> When Mango and Hawkins surveyed the building, there were still remains of mosaic decoration on the back walls of these spaces (figs. 5–6).<sup>103</sup> In the

middle of the eastern arcosolium was a standing figure with her hands folded over her breast, which they identified as Theodora (fig. 5). Very little can be said about this mosaic. The inscription that accompanied the mosaic was completely illegible. The western arcosolium (where tomb VII was located) preserved the remains of an indecipherable inscription as well as a figure bearing another fragmentary inscription . . . νια (μον)αχ(ή), which according to Mango and Hawkins was probably the monastic name of Theodora's daughter (fig. 6). More recently, Alice-Mary Talbot has suggested that this should be read as Εὐγενία, the monastic name of Theodora herself, and therefore her tomb would have been located in the western niche.<sup>104</sup>

The description of the location of the tombs in the typikon, vague in its terminology, allows for two possibilities. The tomb of Theodora's daughter may be located in the narthex of the church of Saint John ("to the right of the entrance to the church," see the Greek text cited above), where Macridy found three tombs (fig. 2, nos. X–XII). In this arrangement, Theodora's own tomb and her mother's are located "after the intervening door" in the naos. Alternatively, the daughter's tomb may be situated in the western arcosolium of the south aisle in the naos of Saint John (no. VII). In this case, Theodora's tomb would be located in the eastern arcosolium after the intervening door on the south wall that led outside the naos. This had been suggested earlier by Mango and Hawkins and corresponds to the instructions in the typikon. Moreover, the tomb in the southeastern niche was unquestionably the most privileged, by virtue of its closeness to the sanctuary. Nevertheless, there is a difficulty in this solution. Although Macridy does not provide any explanation for his identification of the tombs, the reasoning is that in the southeastern niche, where it would make more sense to place Theodora's tomb, he discovered an ossuary separated into three compartments, along with a smaller one next to it (fig. 2, A–B).

I would like to suggest that Theodora was indeed buried in the southeastern niche and that what Macridy found was in essence a secondary burial, undoubtedly after all the available spots had been filled. The sheer number of tombs that Macridy discovered in the south church (set in arcosolia or in the inner ambulatory of the church), along with the three ossuaries, indicates

102 Mango and Hawkins, "Additional Notes," 301–3. See also Mango, "Sépultures" (n. 11 above), 106.

103 Macridy also briefly reports the existence of mosaics in these spaces without, unfortunately, being very specific. See Macridy, "Monastery of Lips" (n. 1 above), 267.

104 Talbot, "Theodora Palaiologina," 300.



that Saint John's was a highly favored final destination, and for good reason. Secondary burials were not as uncommon in Byzantium as one might think, even for members of the imperial family. For example, as soon as Leo VI (886–912) became emperor, he had the remains of Michael III (842–867) dug up and brought from Chrysopolis to Constantinople. There, the bones were placed in a sarcophagus and interred in the church of the Holy Apostles.<sup>105</sup> The list of imperial tombs in *De ceremoniis* offers further evidence for secondary burials in ossuaries, similar to the one in the church of Saint John *ton Libos*. For example, in the passage referring to Justin II and his wife Sophia it reads: "It should be known that in the convent of *ta Ioustinou*, in the church of the holy apostle Thomas, in a sarcophagus made of green Thessalian stone used to lie the body of the emperor Justin and that of Sophia, his wife. Their remains were disinterred and were deposited in the same monastery in a small coffin of Proconnesian, that is Pikrimean, stone, in which there is the inscription 'ossuary of Alexander the Domestikos'."<sup>106</sup> It is not entirely clear why the remains of this imperial couple were exhumed and placed in an ossuary that, judging from the inscription, originally belonged to a certain Alexander.<sup>107</sup>

Even more telling is Porphyrogennetos's description of secondary burials in the monastery of Saint Euphemia *en to Petrio*,<sup>108</sup> where a small sculpted ossuary (*larnakidion*) contained the bones of the two daughters

of Basil I, along with those of Zoe Karbonopsina, the mother of Constantine VII: "It should be known that in the eastern part of the south aisle of the same church [of Prodromos] across from the sarcophagus, a small sculpted ossuary is located in which Anna and Helen, the daughters of Basil, the Christ-loving emperor, are reposing, along with Zoe the mother of Constantine the God-crowned and Porphyrogennetos the blessed emperor and grandson of Basil."<sup>109</sup> Again, the reason for this secondary burial is unclear and it is worth noting that the remains of the two daughters of Basil, who were not related to Zoe, were placed in an ossuary with her. Yet, the situation in the monastery of Saint Euphemia must have been similar to that in the church of Saint John: several members of the family of Basil I were buried inside the church there, and we can speculate that there was soon a need for more space; hence some of the remains were exhumed and placed in ossuaries.

It is, therefore, safe to assume that what Macridy found was actually a secondary burial, namely an ossuary with three compartments, which may have originally contained the bones of Theodora, her mother, and even her daughter. If this suggestion is correct, then we can explain both the arrangement of tombs according to the typikon and the ossuary excavated by Macridy.

## Some Conclusions

Focusing on the monastery *ton Libos*, the most extraordinary example of burials within Byzantine churches in Constantinople, I have investigated the origins and theological context for burial within churches during the middle and late Byzantine periods in Constantinople and elsewhere. This tradition does not represent a continuation of the *ad sanctos* burials, as has been previously proposed. Rather, the reason for the desire to be buried within a church building was soteriological: the souls of the deceased would benefit

105 "ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Λέων μετὰ τὸ αὐτοκρατορῆσαι . . . ἐξήγαγεν Μιχαὴλ ἐκ τοῦ τάφου, καὶ ἐβαλεν ἐν γλωσσοκόμῳ κυπαρισσίνῳ· καὶ ἐπὶ κραβάτου θέντες καὶ σκεπάσαντες βασιλικῶς τε τιμήσαντες, μεθ' ὕμνων καὶ τιμῆς πολλῆς, ἐπομένων ἐκείσε καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ, ἤγαγεν εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους ἀποστόλους καὶ ἀπέθετο ἐν λάρνακι." The incident is related in Georgius Monachus Continuatus; see Bekker, ed., *Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus*, 849. See also Grierson, "Tombs and Obits" (n. 12 above), 57.

106 "Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἐν τῇ γυναικίᾳ [sic] μονῇ τὰ Ἰουστίνου, ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Θωμᾶ, ἐν λάρνακι ἀπὸ λίθου πρασίνου Θεσσαλοῦ ἀπέκειτο τὸ σῶμα Ἰουστίνου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ Σοφίας τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐξηνήχθη τὰ τούτων λείψανα, καὶ κατετέθη ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ μονῇ ἐν χαμοσορίῳ ἀπὸ λίθου Προικονησίου ἡτοῦν Πικριμαίου, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐπιγράφεται· γλωσσοκόμος [sic] Ἀλεξάνδρου Δομεστίκου," Reiske, ed., *De ceremoniis* (n. 102 above), 1:646.

107 It is possible that their sarcophagus was used by Leo VI for the body of Michael III. On this topic see *ibid.*, 2:760–61; Downey, "The Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors" (n. 102 above), 48–51; Grierson, "Tombs and Obits," 9–10.

108 For the location of this monastery see Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique* (n. 5 above), 127–29.

109 "Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἐν τῷ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν δεξιῷ μέρει τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐκτηρίου, ἀπέναντι τοῦ λάρνακος ἱσταται λαρνάκιον μικρὸν ἀνάγλυφον, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκεινται Ἄννα καὶ Ἑλένη, θυγατέρες Βασιλείου τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότη, καὶ Ζωὴ ἡ μήτηρ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ θεοστέπτου καὶ Πορφυρογεννήτου τοῦ μακαρίου βασιλέως τοῦ ἐγγόνου Βασιλείου," see Reiske, ed., *De ceremoniis*, 1:648–49. See also the descriptions of the burials in the monastery *ton Gastrion*, where the lower jaw (!) of Caesar Bardas is kept in a similar small ossuary; *ibid.*, 1:648.

from the continuous celebration of the liturgy and the prayers of the monastics and visitors. The problem of canonical regulations prohibiting church burials (if it ever was a problem) was addressed by placing the tombs in areas of secondary liturgical importance. Whether this was a compromise cannot be known. It was surely common practice, justified by an unspoken “gradation of holiness” in Byzantine churches, which applied to other aspects of religious practice as well. The best representations of this hierarchy are buildings of the ambulatory type, including the church of Saint John in the monastery *tou Libos*, where the bema and the central bay are clearly cut off from the rest of the church. It is not accidental that most, if not all, of the surviving ambulatory churches in Constantinople were funerary in character. A tomb somewhere within a church was highly desired, as the frequency of multiple burials attests, and was usually reserved for distinguished clerics, monastics, and laypeople. Moreover, abundant archaeological and textual evidence indicates that the privilege of church burial belonged to the founder of the monastery, who could come from any of the aforementioned social categories. Thus, it is likely that some of the tombs in the narthex of the north church

belonged to Constantine Lips and members of his family. Although the exact location of Lips’s tomb is unknown, the monastery’s second founder, Theodora Palaiologina, was unquestionably buried in the church of Saint John along with several members of her family. The wording of her instructions in the typikon suggests the possibility that she shared a tomb with her mother—a well-attested practice among imperial relatives. Theodora’s tomb was without a doubt located in the southeastern niche of the church’s inner ambulatory, where Macridy discovered two ossuaries. I suggest that the ossuaries are a testimony to yet another common but largely undocumented practice, namely that of secondary burials. Is it conceivable that Theodora had to share her privileged place within the church with others? The evidence certainly points to that conclusion. But because the archaeological evidence coming from Constantinople is tantalizingly incomplete, these conclusions must remain in part provisional.

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